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***Some Aspects of Public Baths in
Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt***

While all ancient records are void of any mention of the Greek style of public baths in Pharaohnic Egypt, Herodotus for example mentioned nothing in his book⁽¹⁾. Still, the humid hot weather in Egypt, leave no chance to think that bathing was not a repeated regular daily habit. However, baths and bathing show an early existence in Greek mythology and daily life, besides, baths in mythologies, were a stage for several accidents some of which were horrible⁽²⁾. The Roman mentality considered bath as a life necessity, Seneca for example, mentioned public bath as a place full of life, circulation, and noise. moreover, he stressed on the benefits of using public bath of each person⁽³⁾. Pliny, describes the life of the rich at Ostia and their villas containing baths facing the sea, where person can bath and enjoy himself with sea view⁽⁴⁾. While the emperors constructed baths for the plebs in Rome and other cities of Italy and the rest of the Roman world⁽⁵⁾. The number of public baths in Rome was 314; this might

(1) Cf. Hdt, II.

(2) Aeschyl., Ag.1379-98; Apollod. Epit.1.15; Diod. IV, 79.2; Hdt.VII. 170; Boardman, J., (1992), PP. 79, 193ff.,Pomeroy, S., (1998), PP. 32-3, New Larousse Encyclopedia of Mythology, Greek Mythology.

(3) Seneca Moral Epistoles Ivi.1-2, Lewis,N., & Reinhold, M.,(1966), p.228.

(4) Pliny, Letters Book II, 17; III,14, Lewis, N., & Reinhold, M.,(1966), PP. 266, 228.

(5) CIL, 138; 1136; 15267; 25998, Pliny, Ep. 10.31-2, Brunt, B. A., (1980), 86, Millar, F., (1984), P. 138, Historia Augusta" Life of Hadrian, XIX.9-13, from LCL, Columella, On Agriculture I.vi-ix (abridged) Adapted from LCL, Lewis, N., & Reinhold, M., (1966), PP. 152, 168, Duncan-Jones, (1990), P. 67.

illustrate the importance of baths, which urged the Romans to legislate ordinances for operating and using these baths⁽¹⁾.

In their works, Vitruvius the architect, Frontinus, and Lucian, offered a description of the ideal design of water supply pipes and public baths⁽²⁾. On the contrary, some of the Romans found no need for public baths. For instance, Plutarch warns men from cleaning their bodies in the women's bath, nor to bath with them. He believes that: bathing with women is not only indecent, but also, womens' body exude effluvia and excretions which are defiling when absorbed by men; anyone who delves the same circumstances or water partakes⁽³⁾. Moreover, another Roman point of view considered, the frequent use of baths not conducive to physical vigor⁽⁴⁾.

When the Ptolemies and the Romans came to Egypt, they introduce Public baths among other phenomena's of Greek and Roman civilization. It is reasonable to assume that Ptolemaic sovereigns establish Public baths, either attached to royal palaces or occurred individually in Alexandria and Memphis, at least for the use of their companions of the upper class members⁽⁵⁾. Meanwhile, Roman emperors showed a lot of caring towards public baths, that the praefectus, Caecina Tuscus constructed a bath especially for Nero's intended visit to Alexandria⁽⁶⁾, and Caracalla,

(1) *Curiosum Urbis Romae* or *Notitia*, CIL, 138; 1136; 5181, Lewis, N., & Reinhold, M., (1966), PP.192, 488-9, ILS, 5686, Duncan-Jones, (1990), P. 166.

(2) Vitruvius the architecture, VIII.vi, M.H.Morgan's translation, Cambridge, 1914, in a part from LCL, Lucian, *Hippias*, or the bath abridged from LCL, Lewis, N., & Reinhold, M., (1966), PP. 227, 304, Bennett, C.E., (1925), Frontinus, S. J.

(3) Plutarch, Fr. 97. A. D. 2nd cent., Lefkowitz, M. R., Fant, M.B., (1995), P. 262.

(4) Columella, *On Agriculture* I. vi-ix (abridged) LCL, Lewis, N., & Reinhold, M., (1966), PP. 168-9.

(5) Plutarch, *Life of Marcus Antonius*, 85, Preaux, C., (1939), P. 338.

(6) Dio, LXII.18, A. D. 63, Alexandria, cf. Reinmuth, O. W., (1967), P. 82, Johnson, A. C., C., (1959), P. 637.

exempted, reeds' carriers, bringing down reeds to heat the baths, to be driven out of Alexandria⁽¹⁾.

To avoid wasting time and space to avail, it will surface to give general aspects to public baths.

Structure of Baths. Again, seeing to the limited amount of pages dedicated to this paper. It would be more reasonable to offer the units of baths which are already known from the baths excavations in Egypt, using it to illustrate the complete bath units. According to the Archaeological and Documental evidences, baths were build of well burned bricks, and contained four principal rooms, *Frigidarium* "cold water room", *Tepidarium*, "hot air room", *Caldarium* "hot water room", *Faonicum* "vapour/ Sauna room". Besides, *Hypocaust*, "a place situated among the "pedestal = stay" under the ground of hot water and hot air room where water is boiled for warmth. "Suppressor", holes where boiled water flows through pipes, under the hot air and the hot water room grounds, to warm them up. *Opodyterium*, the room of changing "clothes"; these rooms furnished with niches in the walls for keeping clothes inside. *Fatrine*, "W.C.", and *Ante* or prostates, "waiting room". There were as well bath attachments, such as, stores for fuel "timbers or chaff", cleaning tools, towels, adorning tools, oven, and water tanks. Besides, elements exist on some baths such as, *Natatis* "swimming pool in men's section of bath", since baths in many cases separated between both genders or presumably, they used bath mutually, in different days or different hours of the day. Generally, bath sites used to be nearby a reservoir of the metropolis, and there were either Water wheel or Archimedean screw to pump water to the bath tanks. It might be expected to find homestead for cattle that operate Water wheel. Great baths were painted, decorated with wall paintings,

(1) P. Giss. 40, ll. 16-29 = W. Chr. 22, A. D., 215, Oxyrhynchus. ص ٢١٤ ، (١٩٦٦) ، العبادى

pediments, and columns. However, it might be expected to find all or at least, most of these elements in great baths, and some of them might be lacking in poor ones⁽¹⁾.

Such these huge buildings in size and great in number were in need of a continuous large budget to be operated and maintained. Besides, Roman authorities, imposed bath taxes, “ for operating and maintenance”. Moreover, the extra charges imposed by the magistrates, especially by the gymnasiarch. The gymnasiarch as a president of the city council was obliged to perform some of the civil public services, Such as, public baths, usually attached to the gymnasiums. Therefore, gymnasiarchs paid for, water supply, heating water by timbers or chaff, maintaining bath walls, ceilings, iron, lead and copper, besides, paying costs to fix pipes, sinks, and so forth.

It is necessary to explain that operating baths among other things costs those gymnasiarchs a fortune. For instance, the cost of supplying water to the metropolis of Arsinoe for approximately seven or eight month period costs more than 25.000 silver drachma, the water supply for public bath was 424 silver drachma⁽²⁾. Fixing public baths at Oxyrhynchus costs in two

(1) Cf. P. Col. Zen.39; 5, comment, PCZ. 59745; 59718, comment; 59060; 59702-6, P. Mich. Zen. 65 inv. 3194, P. Lond. 1941; 2036, P. Ent. 82 = Sel. Pap. 269, Rostovtzeff, M., (1922), PP. 121, 143, Bowman, A. K., (1986), PP. 144, 146, Thompson, D., (1988), P. 270, P.O. 3649; 1164; 754; 2849; 53; 54; 3185; 84; 896; 2145; 892; 896 = Sel. Pap. 360; 3265; 2127; 2128; 1450; 2849; 473; 2718; 1146; 1499; 3300; 2798, CPH. 66; 67; 82; ; 83; II,16; 119R, VI, 66; 67, P.Giss.50, P.Ryl.III 24, P. Lond.1177 = W.Chr.193; 1166; 1121B, P. Amh.70 = W. Chr.149. -١٩١ ص ص ١٩٩٩)، عزت قادوس، ١٩٩٩. ١١٤ Boak, A. E. R, and E. E. Petersen, (1931), Boak A. E. R, (1934), Bruyere, B., (1966), El-Khashab, A., (1949), El-Khashab, A., (1957), El-Nassery, S., Wagner, G., et Castel, G., (1976), Gjerstad, E., (1921-2), Henne, H., (1924), Michalowski, K., (1937), Schwartz, J., & Wild, M., (1950).

(2) P. Lond.1177 = W.Chr. 193, A. D.113, Arsinoe.

different cases were 3 silver talents⁽¹⁾, Besides, 10.000 silver denarius's for repainting some of the bath walls⁽²⁾, 2.000 silver drachma in one case⁽³⁾. In addition, one silver talent and 600 drachma were paid for heating up Hadrianic baths at Hermopolis⁽⁴⁾, and one thousand silver drachma for the same purpose at Oxyrhynchus⁽⁵⁾. In addition to a large amount of materials, not expressed into a monetary sums⁽⁶⁾.

Ownership. Hemaphalus, the Oeconomus at Arsinoe orders the Epistatis to purchase lead and use it for soldering coppers of the baths at Philadelphia. This operation illustrates that some of the public baths at the village were owned by the state⁽⁷⁾. On the other hand, there are several documents which deal with private baths in Ptolemaic Egypt. Apollonios the dioicetes owned at least one bath at “Κοιται”, since its name occurs among his properties list⁽⁸⁾.

Once again, in the estate, Isidora who claims to Zenon against Maron, asking -among other things, for a deduction of bath rent, because the water supply had stopped for three days. This indicates that the estate was responsible for providing water supplies for its own properties⁽⁹⁾. In two documents, two different persons claim that they are unable to pay Zenon

(1) P. O. 54, A. D. 201; 754, A. D. 201, Oxyrhynchus.

(2) P. O. 896 = Sel. pap. 360, A. D. 316, Oxyrhynchus.

(3) P. Lond. 1166, A. D. 15, Hermopolis.

(4) CPH. 67, A. D. 266, Hermopolis.

(5) P. O. 2127, A. D. 2nd cent., Oxyrhynchus.

(6) CPH.82, A. D. 266, P. Amh.70 = W. Chr. 149, A. D. 114-7, Hermopolis, P. O. 473, A. D. 138-60; 1450, A. D. 249-50; 3185, A. D. 3rd cent; 2128, A. D. 3rd cent.; 53, A. D. 316; 3265, A. D. 326; 892, A. D.338.

(7) P. Mich. Zen. 65 = Inv. 3194, l. 13, Jan. 245 or 244 B. C., Philadelphia.

(8) PSI. 395, Rostovtzeff, (1922), P. 161.

(9) P. Lond. VII, 2036, undated, maybe Philadelphus reign, Philadelphia.

the rent of the bath they operate⁽¹⁾. Furthermore, a letter from Jason to Zenon, concerning different affairs of the estate reveals that the rent of the baths did not reach to his hand. This document, in addition to similar documents, show that some of the public baths were in fact a private property of Apollonios⁽²⁾.

Again maintenance of properties might reflect another element of ownership at baths owned by individuals. This hypothec most probably right, according to the works of maintenance of at least two baths at Philadelphia under Zenon's supervision⁽³⁾. Additionally, Phariets and Dionysius, who ask the bank manager in Philadelphia to accept their payment of bath rent to the account of Apollonios the dioicetes. This action leaves no chance to doubt about his ownership of the bath mentioned in this document⁽⁴⁾. On another occasion, Ariston advanced a letter to Zenon telling telling him that; "baths are rented without delay"⁽⁵⁾. Meaning that Apollonios owns at least more than one bath at Philadelphia. The advantage term that Zenon got in some of the baths lease contracts, that he and some of Apollonios agents got free baths⁽⁶⁾, might clarify their position as agents of Apollonios the owner of the baths. Apollonios, during his presence at Philadelphia, did not forgot to enjoy a bath⁽⁷⁾. However, the papyrus mentioned no fees paid by him or through any of his assistances this indicates that he bath in one of the baths he owned.

Outside Philadelphia documents mentioned several baths; some of which were not specified whether they were a private or public ownership⁽⁸⁾.

(1) PCZ. 59453, presumably Philadelphus reign, PSI., 584, undated, Philadelphia.

(2) P. Lond.VII, 2006, 24 Jan. 248 B. C., P. Col. Zen. 61, 259 B. C. Philadelphia.

(3) P. Col. Zen. 39, Philadelphus reign, Philadelphia.

(4) P. Col. Zen. 57, Late Dec. 249 B. C., Philadelphia.

(5) PCZ. 59371, 29 Mar. 249 B. C., Philadelphia.

(6) PCZ. 59667, undated, Philadelphia.

(7) P. Corn.1, ll. 23, 143, Westermann, W. L., (1924), P. 241, Rostovtzeff, (1941), P. 310.

ownership⁽¹⁾. Besides, Zenon -who was very fond of bathing, pay on many occasions- during his business trips up and down the Nile, the fee for bathing⁽²⁾ in different places from upper Egypt among: Memphis, Memphite, Aphroditopolis, Arsinoe, Heracleopolis, Oxyrhynchus, Kenopolis and Hermopolis⁽³⁾, and in lower Egypt, Nikiou and Naukratis⁽⁴⁾. These documents indicates clearly that, baths were wide spread in upper and lower Egypt, where Zenon got no problem to find a bath wherever he stopped during his journey from Memphis to Hermopolis far to the south and from Philadelphia to Naukratis up to the north. In the light of the fact that, Zenon and his companions not only paid the bathing fee to the operators of these baths but also, they purchase other equipments for bathing. Such as, oil for bathing soap, wood for warming up water, vegetables and wine to enjoy during or after bathing time. Therefore, it might be considered that; all baths that Zenon visit were a private property and not owned by Apollonios⁽⁵⁾. In Roman Egypt, the picture seems more obvious, since most of baths were named after one or more of the Roman emperors. Such as, Tiberius⁽⁶⁾, Nero⁽⁷⁾, Trajan and Hadrian⁽⁸⁾, Hadrian⁽⁹⁾, Antoninus and Trajan⁽¹⁰⁾, and Antoninus⁽¹¹⁾. Moreover, some baths were

(1) P. Hib. 108, 258/7, Heracleotic division, 112, 260 B. C., Vibeca, 116, 245 B. C. Busiris,.

(2) PCZ. 59698; 59702-6, undated.

(3) PCZ. 59706, undated.

(4) PCZ. 59705, undated.

(5) PCZ. 59698; 59702-6, all are undated.

(6) P. Lond. 1166, A. D. 15, Hermopolis.

(7) Dio, LXII.18, A. D. 63, Alexandria, This bath constructed by Praefectus Caecina Tuscus (5Sept. 63-17 Jul. 64), specially for Nero's intended visit to Alexandria, cf. Reinmuth, O. W., (1967), P. 82, Johnson, A. C., (1959), P. 637.

(8) P. O. 896 = Sel. Pap. 360, A. D. 316, Oxyrhynchus.

(9) P. O. 54, A. D. 201; 754, A. D. 201, CPH. 82, A. D. 226; 67, A. D. 266, P. O. 53, A. D. D. 316, CPH. 66, A. D. 3rd cent. P. O. 1450, A. D. 249-50. all at Oxyrhynchus.

(10) P. Giss. 50, A. D. 250, P. Flor. 63, A. D. 281, Oxyrhynchus.

(11) P. O. 2128, A. D. 3rd cent., Oxyrhynchus, Malalas, XI. 280.

simply called Cesar's baths⁽¹⁾. The aforementioned names were in the opinion of the publishers of these documents an indication for ownership by the state⁽²⁾. But, one example can negate this conclusion, where a document mentions "Severian baths"⁽³⁾, that were owned by a temple. "Johnson", think that either these baths were built by the Roman soldiers or by Imperial grants and named after the emperor who offered the grant. Another possibility that these baths were already existing and named after them for honor's sake⁽⁴⁾.

Public baths not owned by the state were common as well. One example for a temple with bath at Philagris, Arsinoe⁽⁵⁾. Another example is already mentioned above at Oxyrhynchus⁽⁶⁾. While in three different cases, public baths were owned by Roman citizens and situated inside their estates. One of them were in the village of Thegonis⁽⁷⁾. In addition to Moschianus, two Roman citizen also each owned a bath in his estate at Oxyrhynchus⁽⁸⁾, and Severianus⁽⁹⁾. As for bath furniture's, it is obvious through the documents that they were supplied and owned by bath owners⁽¹⁰⁾.

Unfortunately, there are no sufficient clear definite evidences about the builders of these baths spread out in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. However, this extension might illustrate a common encouragement by the

(1) P. O. 3185, A. D. 3rd cent., Oxyrhynchus, P. Amh. 64, A. D. 107, Hermopolis.

(2) Cf. the comments on Papyri nos., P. O. 53, 54, 754, 896, 1450, 21283185, CPH. 62, 66, 66, 82, P. Lond. 1166, 1177, P. Flor. 63, P. Giss. 50.

(3) P. O. 1449 = Sel. Pap. 405, A. D. 213-7, Oxyrhynchus.

(4) Johnson, A. C., (1959), PP. 6 35-6.

(5) BGU. 362, A. D. 215, Philagris, Arsinoe.

(6) P. O. 1449 = Sel. Pap. 405, A.D. 213-7, Oxyrhynchus.

(7) P. Mich. 312, ll. 11-2, A. D. 34, Tebtunis.

(8) P. Mich. 616, after A. D. 182, Oxyrhynchus.

(9) P. Lond. 1177 = W. Chr. 193, A. D. 331, Arsinoe, Malalas, XII. 293.

(10) P. Mich.312, A. D. 34, Tebtunis, P.Giss. 50, A. D. 259, Oxyrhynchus.

state as well as a common acceptance by the Greeks and the Romans, and at least the upper class of the Egyptian society. In brief, there are no definite documents which outline the details of bath buildings, or the source of funds for this purpose. Still, some of these baths were owned by individuals and temples, but baths at the metropolis, and big cities were not connected with their founders—regardless of the common habit of naming the bath after one or more of the emperors⁽¹⁾. Despite that, there are several cases outside Egypt, such as where the Roman emperors built -in their own, baths at Thoga⁽²⁾. On the other hand, some others built these baths through extra charges on the citizens of these cities⁽³⁾.

Sites and Names: The primary fact is that; baths were extremely rare in houses, where it was only for the house resident⁽⁴⁾. However, in addition to the above-mentioned sites and names of baths in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt⁽⁵⁾, there were more specifications in the documents. In the Ptolemaic era, a sample of such documents may illustrate that one of these baths was near by a temple that lay by a channel “ a water source” at Arsinoe⁽⁶⁾. Meanwhile, the others got no specific place but the name of the region such as, these extended baths all over Egypt in Alexandria⁽⁷⁾, or at Arsinoe’ Terra-komea⁽⁸⁾, Kite⁽¹⁾, and Philadelphia⁽²⁾, and at Hobe, Vibecs⁽³⁾, Busiris⁽⁴⁾, Busiris⁽⁴⁾, and Fus⁽⁵⁾.

(1) Cf. BGU.362, A.D. 215, Philagris, Arsinoe, Johnson, A.C., (1959)pp. 635-6.

(2) Cf. CIL.VIII.15267; 25998, Duncan-Jones, (1990), p.67.

(3) ILS. 5686, Pliny, Ep. 10. 31-2, Brunt, B. A., (1980), P. 82, Millar, F., (1984), P. 133.

(4) P. Mich. Zen. 38, PSI. 547, P. Flor. 127, 1.47 = Sel. Pap. 140, A. D. 256, P. Lond. 193v., 193v., A. D. II cent., Preaux, C., (1939), P. 340, Husson, G., (1983), PP. 57-60, 157-60, El-Khashab, A., (1949), PP. 21-2; (1957), PP. 131-2, Yacoub, F., (1968), PP. 55-6, Pomeroy, S., (1998), p.142.

(5) Cf. Notes 28-36 above.

(6) PCZ. 59745, ll. 30-2, Undated, Philadelphia.

(7) Plutarch, Life of M. Antonius 85.

(8) P. Ent. 82, 224 B.C.

Documents in Roman Egypt offer more details about sites of baths, and their names. In Alexandria, baths of Nero and Hadrian⁽⁶⁾, and at Qolzoum “Suez”⁽⁷⁾ another unnamed bath at Mendis⁽⁸⁾. At Arsinoe, several documents mentioned baths at Euhemeria, one of them was at Philagris⁽⁹⁾. Two baths at Karanis, one of them was bigger than the other. The former was built by the veterans, this reflex the enormous number of veterans settled there⁽¹⁰⁾. Dionysias “Qasr Qarun”⁽¹¹⁾, Tebtunis⁽¹²⁾, Theadelphia⁽¹³⁾, Soknopaiou Nesos⁽¹⁴⁾, and Thomis⁽¹⁵⁾. A generously large Municipal account document illustrates that a bath -as it might be expected, lies near the reservoir of the Arsinoe’s metropolis⁽¹⁶⁾. However, in one document the bath is called, bathhouse⁽¹⁷⁾, but the rest got no names⁽¹⁾.

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- (1) PSI, 584, 395, Rostovtzeff, M., (1922), p.161.
 (2) P. Corn. I, P. Lond. 2086, Philadelphus reign, PSI. 445; 452; 355; 395; 584, P. Mich. Zen. 65=Inv. 3194, 13 Jan 2405/4 B. C, P. Lond. 2006, 24 Jan. 248 B. C., 2036, undated, P. Col. Zen. 39, undated, PCZ. 59745, undated, P. Col. Zen. 51, late Dec. 249B. C., Rostovtzeff, M., (1922), PP.121-2.
 (3) P. Hib. 112, 260 B. C.
 (4) P. Hib. 116, 245 B. C., FrÖsen, J., (1980), P. 279.
 (5) P. Hib.108, 258/7 or 248/7B.C.
 (6) Diod., LXII. 18, Malalas, XII. 293
 (7) Bruyere, B., (1966).
 (8) P. O. 1436, 11. 2, 20, 39, P. Ryl. 213; 474.
 (9) BGU. 362, col. I, A. D. 215, Arsinoe.
 (10) Cf. P. Mich. VII, Alston, R., (1995), PP. 117-142, El-Nassery, S., Wagner, G., et Castel, G., (1976), PP. 231-77.
 (11) Schwartz, J., & Wild, M., (1950).
 (12) P. Mich.312 = inv. 639, A. D. 34, cf. comment; 234 = inv.734, A. D. 38, PSI. 902, O. Mey.75.
 (13) O. Fay. 2-6, O. Mich. Car. 120.
 (14) Boak A. E. R, (1934)
 (15) P. Ryl. 213; 474.
 (16) P. Lond. 1177 = W. chr. 193, A. D. 113, the Metropolis of Arsinoe.
 (17) P. Ryl. 124, 1st, cf. Rawlandson, J., (1998), PP. 322-3.

Antoninopolis has at least one public bath⁽²⁾. At Hermopolis several documents mention baths attached to the gymnasium of the metropolis and situated near the water reservoir of the city⁽³⁾. Meanwhile, another two documents mention a bath constructed in the street⁽⁴⁾, and hot baths near by Moon gate and "the granaries"⁽⁵⁾. The very strong relation between public baths and the Municipal Magistrates, especially the gymnasiarch shows that; presumably most of the documents came from Hermopolis are refer to the same bath attached to the gymnasium of the city. Oxyrhynchus has the largest number of documents mentioned baths in one region. Most of them are named after an emperor as stated above⁽⁶⁾, and attached to a gymnasium⁽⁷⁾.

However, in some documents bath lies near by a water reservoir⁽⁸⁾. Despite that one of the baths is named women's bath, and the street where the bath situated is named, women's bath street, the matter that gives no impression about his site⁽⁹⁾. Surprisingly, public baths were extensive at

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- (1) O. Fay. 2, 23B. C.; 3, 3 B. C.; 4, A. D. 24, P. Fay. 46, A. D. 36, P. Lond. 1121B, A. D. 157, Arsinoe, Milne, J. G., (1898), PP. 9-10, 160.
- (2) P. O. 903, A. D. 4th /5th cent. Antoninopolis.
- (3) P. Amh. 70, A. D. 114-7, P. Lond. 1166, A. D. 15, CPH. 67, A. D. 266; 82, A. D. 266, Hermopolis.
- (4) P. Amh. 64, A. D. 107, Hermopolis.
- (5) P. O. 2719, A. D. 3rd cent., Hermopolis., Bowman, A. K., (1986), P. 146.
- (6) P. O. 896 = Sel. Pap. 360, A. D. 316; 54, A. D. 201; 754, A. D. 201, CPH. 82, A. D. 226; 67, A. D. 266, P. O. 53, A. D. 316, CPH. 66, A. D. 3rd cent. P. O. 1450, A. D. 249-50. P. Giss. 50, A. D. 250, P. Flor. 63, A. D. 281, P. O. 2128, A. D. 3rd cent., Malalas, XI. 280, P. O. 3185, A. D. 3rd cent., Oxyrhynchus.
- (7) Cf. P. O. 473, A. D. 138-60; 2127, A. D. 2nd cent.; 54, A. D. 201; 754, A. D. 201; 1450, A. D. 249-50; P. Giss. 50, A. D. 250, P. O. 1104, A. D. 306; 2849, A. D. 210; 892, A. D. 338, Oxyrhynchus.
- (8) P. O. 3185, A. D. 3rd cent.; 2128, A. D. 3rd cent.; 2780, A. D. 16 Jul. 553, all at Oxyrhynchus.
- (9) P. Brem. 23, Oxyrhynchus.

Thebes region⁽¹⁾. They spread out at the city or at one of its' quarters. Like, nearby Karnak temple⁽²⁾, Memnonia⁽³⁾, (Taur.), Ophi⁽⁴⁾, Pacercesis⁽⁵⁾, Kharax⁽⁶⁾, Keramia⁽⁷⁾, Macedonian quarter⁽⁸⁾, and North market quarter⁽⁹⁾. Moreover, several ostraca mentioned public baths at Coptos⁽¹⁰⁾, Edfu⁽¹¹⁾, Tentyrius⁽¹²⁾, and as far to south as Elephantine⁽¹³⁾. According to these documents which mention definite sites of some baths, and in the light of the fact that, baths can not run without water, it might be concluded that most of the baths were attached to Gymnasiums and at the very same time, situated near the water reservoir of the metropolis⁽¹⁴⁾.

Ordinances. Documents mentioned only few data about the regulations that were put for bath operating during Ptolemaic and Roman era. Only a few documents registered bath tax at a rate of, one-third during the Ptolemaic ear⁽¹⁵⁾. A document used the word “λουτρωνιδιον” not the common vocabulary “βαλανειον”, mentioned that; Harmiysis declares to the Oeconomus Dionysius that the public bath situated at his homestead at

(1) O. Strass. 202; 214; 259; 261; 265; 181; 182; 268; 271; 272; 297; 194; 440, W. O. II. 1578.

(2) Pillet, M., (1933).

(3) PSI. 263, O. Tait. 116-7, P. 95.

(4) W. O. II. 1066; 538; 539.

(5) W. O. II. 617; 1061,

(6) O. Tait. comment P. 69, No. 35.

(7) Cf. O. Theb. PP. 119 ff., O. Strass. 109.

(8) W. O. II Index, 1032; 1033; 1552; 1035; 1036; 390.

(9) O. Strass. 90; 93; 95; 96; 109; 186; 187; 193; 196, O. Theb. 45; 47; 49, O. Mey. 26.

(10) W. O. II. 501.

(11) Gjerstad, E., (1921-22), Henne, H., (1924), Michalowski, K., (1937).

(12) O. Strass. 262-3.

(13) O. Mey. 13-4.

(14) Cf. P. Lond. 1177 = W. chr. 193, A. D. 113, the Metropolis of Arsinoe.

(15) Cf. Rostovtzeff, M., (1941), P. 312.

Busiris, shall pay the one-third bath tax⁽¹⁾. Another example came from the same village where the rate remains the same⁽²⁾.

Whatever the number of the documents mentioned bath tax under the Ptolemies, most of them did not mention the total amount of bath income. After all this income may varied as a result of the natural difference among bath sizes, as well as individual preference, religious feasts, or even weather condition that urge man to seek a hot bath⁽³⁾. Nevertheless, two documents contain a couple of amnesty decrees, where a Ptolemaic king who is not specified, pardons negligent bath operators, who did not provide bath tax within the appropriate time⁽⁴⁾. This edict might gives impression that bath operators got better privileges to do there work than before. Since one of bath operators was jailed during or because of operating a public bath and when he came out of the prison he discovered that the Oeconomus seized the entire amount of bath income as a security, presumably for tax arrears. Therefore he wrote to Zenon asking him to arrange the matter with the Oeconomus⁽⁵⁾. While the other edict is too fragmentary in the part containing the vocabulary “βαλανεια” to conclude a definite meaning⁽⁶⁾.

Bath operating was one of the economic activities sold in a public biddings, to determine its' rent and accordingly, the amount of bath tax⁽⁷⁾.

(1) P. Hels. 6, ll. 10-1, FrÖsen, J., (1980), P. 279.

(2) P. Hib. 116, ll. 1-6, 245 B. C., Busiris, Wallace, Sh., (1938), P. 155.

نصحي (١٩٨٨) ج ٣. ص ٣٠٠. ٣٠٢.

(3) Cf. O. Bodl. 307, 240/205B.C.; 320, 1st cent. B. C., O. Amh. 5, 119 B. C., P. Hib. 108, 258/7 or 248/7 B. C.; 112, 260 B. C.

(4) P. kroll. ll. 20-1, 17 Aug. 163 or 9 Oct. 186 B. C., Lenger, M., (1962), No. 34, PP. 82-88.

(5) P. Col. Zen. 103, Philadelphus reign.

(6) Preaux, C., (1939), P. 339, Lenger, M., (1962), No. 53, PP. 128-58, 121/ 120- 118.

(7) P. Gurb. 13, 3rd. cent. B. C., 2

However, the tax for operating baths paid in different terms, and sometimes paid annually⁽¹⁾, or every six-month⁽²⁾. While, bath maintenance tax was paid annually⁽³⁾. Finally, the content of some documents, might give a strong believe that; bath maintenance tax was well known during the Ptolemaic era except that it was not paid accompanied with other taxes⁽⁴⁾.

Considering the urban targets of the Roman colony, and while there are no definite regulations in the documentary evidences. It might be not far from the truth that; Roman administration encouraged bath founding as a reflection for Romanization. Specially since Roman authority imposed bath taxes to fund public baths building. Ostraca shows that; Roman authority built baths and rent them to individuals to operate them⁽⁵⁾.

It seems clear from tax receipts that; two kinds of bath taxes were collected in Egypt. First, tax for operating public baths, one / third “τρίτη βαλανείου”⁽⁶⁾, this tax was clearly known since the Ptolemaic period. Besides, another tax dedicated to bath maintenance or presumably

نصحي (١٩٨٨) ج ٣ ص ٣٠٠.

- (1) P. Hib. 108, 258/7 or 248/7 B. C., and comment; 112, 260 B. C., P. Petr. III. 37b. verso.
 (2) P. Hib. 116, 245 B. C.
 (3) P. Petr. III. 132-42, O. Bodl. 307; 320, P. Teb.112; 117, O. Strass. 584; 588, O. Mey. 11, O. Theb.2.
 (4) O. Bodl. 320, 1st cent. B. C., and comment, P. Teb. 112; 117, O. Strass. 584; 588.
 (5) O. Br. -Berl. I; W. O. II 1370; 1203, S. B. 4519, O. Tait. P. 94, No. 114, O. Wilb. 44, 1.2; 45, 1.3; 46, 1.4; 47, 1.3; 48, 1. 3, Wallace, Sh. (1938), PP. 155-6.
 (6) W. O. II. 366-8; 370; 373; 374; 376-8; 518-20; 582-4; 617; 619; 623; 626; 634; 636, O. Tait. 77; 81; 109; 114, O. Theb. 44; 46; 51; 52; 54; 55, O. Mey. 13; 14; 27, O. Strass. 74; 81; 261; 484; 265; 266; 268; 272; 275, Wallace, Sh., (1938), PP. 155-9; 302-5; 425-6.

for building⁽¹⁾. This tax was collected sometimes with capitation tax⁽²⁾, trade tax⁽³⁾, or guard tax⁽⁴⁾.

There are no known clear stapled rates or amounts, for bath maintenance tax, because; the above mentioned taxes collected with bath tax, have inconsistent rate all over Egypt⁽⁵⁾. According to the documents, it might be correct to conclude that; bath tax was paid in two ways, either in money⁽⁶⁾, or in kind⁽⁷⁾. Meanwhile, the title of bath tax collectors, changed from time to time and sometimes from one place to another.

Tax collectors got a lot of titles some of them for example, “Βαλανευτης”, which was used during early Roman period at Thebes, and collect taxes in money⁽⁸⁾. During, the first century, it was paid in money and and collected by “πρακτωρ βαλανειου”⁽⁹⁾,. In the second century, collected collected by “πρακτορες αργυρικων”⁽¹⁰⁾, while at Thebes they were

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- (1) O. Tait.79, O. Wilb. 10, 1.1; 11. 1. 1; 14, 1.2; 15, 1.7; 16, 1.3; 17, 1.3; 18, 1.3, cf. PP. 40-44, P. Fay. 46, W. O. I. PP. 165 sqq.
- (2) O. Wilb. 10, 1.3; 11, 1.4, O. Strass.94, 93; 95; 96; 109; 186; 187; 193; 196, O. Mey. 26, O. Theb. 45; 47; 49, Wallace, Sh., (1938), P. 129.
- (3) O. Tait. 99, O. Wilb. 14, 1.1; 15, 1.2; 16, 1.3; 17, 1.3; 18, 1.3; 19, 1.2.
- (4) W. O. II. 422; 427; 428; 430; 433; 435; 441; 442; P. Bad. IV. 108; 107, O. Mey. 25; 39; 39; O. Tait. 192, cf. Wallace, Sh., (1938), PP. 146-7; 422, Preaux, C., (1934).
- (5) Wallace, Sh., (1938), PP. 132; 147; 156-7;422; O. Tait.99, O. Wilb. 14,1.1; 15, 1.2; 16, 1.3; 17, 1.3; 18, 1.3; 19, 1.2, W. O. 422; 427; 428; 430; 433; 435; 441; 442; P. Bad. 108; 107, O. Mey. 25; 39, O. Tait. 192.
- (6) BGU. II 362. i. 24, O. Strass.120; 123; 132; 134, O. Mey. 13; 14, Wallace, Sh., (1938), PP. 156-7, 423-4.
- (7) O. Strass. 440, W. O. II. 1587, Wallace, Sh., (1938), PP. 157-8
- (8) W. O. III 368, A. D. 6-7, Thebes, Wallace, Sh., (1938), PP. 157, 425.
- (9) BGU. 362, A. D. 215, Milne, J., (1898), PP. 9-10, Otto, W., I, (1950), PP. 292-3; II, (1908), P. 53.
- (10) Wallace, Sh., (1938), P. 157.

collected by “τελωνης θησαυρου”⁽¹⁾, and paid in wheat⁽²⁾. However, when bath tax was collected in kind at Thebes its responsibility was lied on one of those “σιτολογος ιερτικων”, or “επιτηρηται θησαυρου ιερων”, or even, “τελωναι θησαυρου”⁽³⁾. While the name of the collector of the tax tax in money at Elephantine was called “τελος βαλανευτικον”⁽⁴⁾, and in Tentyrius was called “πρακτωρ Θεαγων”⁽⁵⁾. Starting up from the second century and beyond, the “πρακτορες αργυρικων”, takes the lead in collecting bath tax together with, laographia, or dike tax. After all the title “πρακτωρ βαλανειου” still existed at Thebes⁽⁶⁾. Nevertheless, this title was more appropriate to those were entrusted with collecting bath tax.

Operating. What might be derived out from Ptolemaic documents is that; public baths, either erected by the state or by individuals, were built, furnished, repaired, and provided with water by the owner of the bath⁽⁷⁾. Therefore, the bath owner who did not provide water supply⁽⁸⁾ had to pay water supply costs to the lessee, in case of the lessee got the water in his

(1) Wallace, Sh., (1938), PP. 157, 425.

(2) W. O. II. 1587.

(3) Cf. W. O. II. PP. 448ff.

(4) O. Mey. 13-4, 6/5 B. C, Elephantine.

(5) O. Strass. 262-3.

(6) W. O. II. 1032; 1033; 1552; 1035; 1036; 390, Wallace, Sh., (1938), P. 302.

(7) Cf. P. Lond. 2006, 248 B. C.; 2036, undated, PCZ. 59718, undated; 59371, 239 B. C.; 59667, undated; 59453, undated; 59745, undated, P. Col. Zen. 5, late Feb. 257 B. C.; 39, undated; 57, 249B.C.; 65, 245/ 4 B. C., PSI. 395; 445; 452; 355; 584, Rostovtzeff, M., (1922), PP. 121-2, 184.

(8) PSI. 445; 452, P. Lond. 2036, undated.

own⁽¹⁾. Meanwhile, warming up water was a responsibility of the lessee, as a part of the bath operation⁽²⁾.

According to several documents, bath rent was paid annually⁽³⁾. One of the privileges of the lessor appeared in Ptolemaic rent contracts was, the free baths that Zenon and the assistants of Apollonios -for being the owner's agents-got from bath operators⁽⁴⁾. However, a part from Isidora⁽⁵⁾, some documents from the first century of the Ptolemaic era show that; several bath operators were unable to pay bath rents for unknown reason. Presumably because, public baths did not enjoyed a wide popularity during the early Ptolemaic period⁽⁶⁾.

Bathing fees mentioned in several documents were fifty obols in one case for unspecific number of bathers or bathing times, and half obols paid repeatedly by Zenon. However, it is very important to notice that: he provides, timbers for heating up water and castor oil⁽⁷⁾. This act by Zenon does not seems easy to be explained, simply because there are no similar act noted by someone else during the Ptolemaic or the Roman era. Despite the aforementioned data about bath operating, there is no clear direct way to calculate bath income, so as to give its approximate standard. in the light of the absence of more data. But, two documents give definite sums as a one-year bath income. Which was one talent⁽⁸⁾, in one case, while the other was

(1) P. Lond. 2036, undated, Philadelphia.

(2) P. Col. Zen. 5, ll. 38, comment, late Feb. 257 B. C.; 103, 15-8, P. Lond. 2036; 2006, 24 Jan. 248 B. C., PCZ. 59718, undated; 59667, undated; 59371, 29 Mar. 239 B. C., P. Mich. Zen. 65, inv. 3194, 13 Jan. 245/4 B. C.

(3) P. Col. 57, 249, B. C., Philadelphia.

(4) PCZ. 59667, undated, Philadelphia

(5) P. Lond. 2036, undated, Philadelphia.

(6) PCZ. 59453, undated, P. Lond. 2006, 248 B. C.

(7) PCZ. 59702-6, undated.

(8) P. Hells. 6, FrÖsen, J., (1980), P. 279.

3960 drachma, and the tax was paid in Mecheir⁽¹⁾. It is noteworthy according to the aforesaid document that bathing was subject to increase in winter and to decrease in summer⁽²⁾.

Bath rent used to be paid for the use of bath building and other services and materials such as, vessels, “sinks and water supply”. This fact seems reasonable since the deduction of the rent Isidora asked for because of water failing. The rent sum was, 6 drachma a day, and reduced for unclear reason to 6 drachma. Perhaps because she was unable to pay it, since there were several cases where bath operators were unable to pay the rent. However, she asked for 1.5 drachma as a deduction for water failing. If we consider the original rent which was 6 drachma a day, then the costs of water supply might be 25% of the rent. But if we pay attention to the new rent then the water supply costs might got 37.5% of the rent.⁽³⁾ Heating up water, was the responsibility of the bath lessee⁽⁴⁾. This fact is seems contradictory with what was mentioned in some of Zenon documents that he takes timbers with him to more than one bath owned fairly by some one else, not Apollonios⁽⁵⁾. Maintenance works and costs were a duty fulfilled by bath owner⁽⁶⁾.

Bathing fee used to appear seldom in Ptolemaic documents, and the rate used to be half obol, during the first half century of the Ptolemaic era. Yet, when Zenon and his colleagues paid 50 drachma for bath, it seems that as a group of friends gathering for pleasant. Because, the documents contain, accounts for purchasing, wine, oil, and some other necessities⁽⁷⁾.

(1) P. Hib. 116, 245B. C., Busiris.

(2) P. Hib. 116, ll. 3, 7-8, 245B. C., Busiris.

(3) P. Lond. 2036, undated, Philadelphia.

(4) P. Hells. 6, FrÖsen, J., (1980), P. 279.

(5) PCZ. 59702-6, undated, Philadelphia.

(6) P. Col. Zen. 39, undated, PCZ. 59745, undated, Philadelphia.

(7) PCZ. 59440, undated, Philadelphia; 59702-6, undated.

The previous documents might be considered a bath party. Bath men were rarely mentioned at the same era⁽¹⁾, there are only a few like, Eubolos, the bath man at Philadelphia⁽²⁾, and another who was a bath rubber⁽³⁾.

Public baths attached to the gymnasiums during Roman era, were built by municipal magistrates donations. Meaning that its' ownership devolved upon the state and operated by town council⁽⁴⁾. To exemplify, one the leading effort of the "Boule" was, to supervise the erection of public buildings. Therefore, it charged the Epimeletes to supervise the building of public baths⁽⁵⁾. Similarly, the "Boule" of Oxyrhynchus charged the Exegetai Exegetai to supervise providing baths with chaff for heating up water, and with water supply⁽⁶⁾. While the Epimeletes was responsible for paying wages of public baths attendants⁽⁷⁾. This behalf might explain the attitude of of the "Boule", which charged the Prytanis to pay the wages of public bath servants, because of the Epimeletes shortcoming⁽⁸⁾.

Towards the fourth century, supervising public baths was a part of the Logistes duties⁽⁹⁾. However, the gymnasiarchs were sometimes, responsible for appointing and paying the wages for persons whom supervised bath works⁽¹⁰⁾. Maintenance works contains: painting works⁽¹¹⁾, purchasing

(1) PCZ. 59440, undated, Philadelphia, P. Enteux. 82, 220 B. C., Trikomia, Arsinoe.

(2) P. Corn. 1, ll. 23, 143, Philadelphia, Westermann, W., (1924), P. 241.

(3) Rostovtzeff, M., (1922). P.20.

(4) P. O. 892 = w. Chr. 49, A. D. 338, Bowman, A. K., (1968), P. 90, Bell, H. I., (1938), P. P. 355.

(5) CPH. 66; 67; 82; 63; 85; 86 = W. Chr. 195; 94, Hermopolis, Meautis. G., (1918), PP. 152-5, Bowman, A., (1968), P. 88.

(6) P. O. 2569; 891, P. Got. 7, Bowman, A., (1968), PP. 88, 111.

(7) P. O. 1499, A. D. 309; 1500, AD.229, Bowman, A., (1968), P. 89.

(8) P. O. 1450, A. D. 249-50, Oxyrhynchus, Bowman, A., (1968), P. 89.

(9) P. O. 53, 316; 896 = W. Chr.48, Bowman, A., (1968), P. 90.

(10) P. O. 2128, A. D. 3rd cent., P. Giss. 50, A. D. 259, Oxyrhynchus.

(11) P. O. 896 = Sel. Pap. 360, A. D.316, Oxyrhynchus.

plaster and rubble⁽¹⁾, repairing walls and roofs⁽²⁾, fixing pipes and sinks⁽³⁾, water supply⁽⁴⁾, warming up water⁽⁵⁾, and other restoration works costs⁽⁶⁾, were paid as well through the gymnasiarch⁽⁷⁾.

Yet, no definite results, concerning known clear budget of a definite bath, contains the expenses and the income. That might help to have a clear idea about bath income. All that could be derived out from the huge amounts of money paid by the gymnasiarchs, is that public baths take a fortune from the city council members to be operated. This financial charge, besides other responsibilities lead to the decline of municipalities in Roman Egypt⁽⁸⁾. Presumably, because the public baths were provided free to the citizens, since there is no bathing fee mentioned regularly in this era, despite the large amount of documents concerning public baths affairs.

Bases for bath operating to individuals, could be concluded from a singular document, explaining the relation between the lessor and the lessee. The document concerning a bath situated at the estate of the owner. It was leased through his agent to the lessees, for three years, for a rent of,

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- (1) CPH. 82, A. D. 266, P. O. 2145, A. D. 164 Oxyrhynchus.
 (2) P. O. 892, A. D. 338; 54, A. D. 201; 1450, A. D. 249/50, Oxyrhynchus.
 (3) P. O. 3185, A. D. 3rd cent.; 84, A. D. 316, Oxyrhynchus.
 (4) P. O. 2128, A. D. 3rd cent., P. Amh. 70 = W.Chr. 149, A. D. 114-7; 2780, A. D. 553, P. Lond. 11787 = W. Chr.193, A. D. 113, Oxyrhynchus.
 (5) Cf. P. Lond. 1166, A. D. 15, CPH. 67, A. D. 266, Hermopolis, P. Lond. 1121B, A. D. 157, Arsinoe, P. O. 53, A. D. 316; 2127, A. D. 2nd Cent.; 2849, A. D. 326; 3265, A. D. 326, Oxyrhynchus.
 (6) P. Amh. 64, A. D. 107, P. O. 473, A. D. 138-60; 2145; 54, A. D. 201; 754, A. D. 201, CPH. 82, A. D., 266, P. O. 1450, A. D. 249-50; 1104, A. D. 306; 896, A. D. 316; 84, A. D. 316; 2780, A. D. 553.
 (7) P. lond. 1177 = W.Chr.193, A. D. 113, Arsinoe; P. O. 2127, A. D. 2nd cent.; 54, A. D. 201; 754, A. D. 201; 896 = Sel. Pap. 360, A. D. 316, Oxyrhynchus, P. Lond. 1166, A. D. 15; CPH. 67, A. D. 266, Hermopolis.
 (8) Jones, A. H. M., (1938), Van Sickle, (1938).

265 artaba of new clean wheat, "without blemishes" according to the measure of the "same bath"? The rent might be delivered from the month Pauni to Mesore, "three months", of the same year. The lessees might provide each month the proper installment, in the village.

The lessor is to receive from the lessees, immunity from the bath fee for ten men to be selected by the lessor. In the bath there are, three leaded vessels of bronze, and the chaff bin lying next to the bath, in which there is chaff. Moreover, the lessees shall restore the bath as received and the bronze vessels in good condition. If any damage occurred to the bronze vessels through the fault of the lessees. The repairs shall be charged against them. The lessor furnishes the utensils. The lessees shall pay also the full rental, and shall deliver the chaff in "the bin", as received, with the quality that the same. The lessees shall be given two free donkey loads of chaff without charge. Finally, the agent of the lessor guarantees the lease against public charges, and the contract registered through the secretary of "Talei" and other villages⁽¹⁾. The extra data derived out of this document is about bath vessels used in different bathing purposes.

Public baths lease contracts were like other, immovable ownerships. Paying rent regularly, giving donations to one of the contract parties, the responsibility for keeping up the property and its' equipments. Lastly, it contains no penalty conditions. The terms of this contract seems very close to the known terms approved in Rome⁽²⁾. The rent of the bath might reflect the large size of the bath, the rent 265 artaba. When translated to money according to the nearest known level of price is 265 X 8 dr.=

(1) P. Mich. 312, A. D. 34, Tebtunis, cf. also, P. Rend. Harr.79, A. D. 3rd cent. Oxyrhynchus.

(2) CIL. 5181, Lewis, N., & Reinhold, M., (1966), PP. 192.

2320 dr. or the wage of ordinary worker for approximately 4640 days or a little less than 13 years⁽¹⁾.

However, an infrequent sample for a public bath running through private enterprise, gives the amount paid to the bank: 621drachma and 6obol. A definite part of this sum is 260 drachma paid to the bath operator and his associates, bath tenders, other wages and cost of chaff for heating. This gives operating costs a bout 43.5% out of bath income. Still, it is unexplained: why the document mentioned “560 drachma as total of expenses and transfer to the account of bath owner”, instead of 621drachma and 6obol⁽²⁾.

The repeatedly mentions of bath servants in documents, and the different services they did, gives an extra strong impression about the wide spread of public baths and the flourishing of this trade. Labors mentioned for example were, bath men⁽³⁾, bath attendants⁽⁴⁾, furnace attendants⁽⁵⁾, Water drawers⁽⁶⁾, water pourers⁽⁷⁾, bath supervisors⁽⁸⁾, dress attendances and locker Guards⁽⁹⁾. There are a few data available about the wages of these laborers. Such as, a bath man got a sum of four drachma for unspecified period⁽¹⁰⁾, and another one got eight drachma as a wage for half month, in a

(1) P. Lond. 131, A. D. 78/9, P. Mich. 123, A. D. 46/7, West. L. C., (1916), PP. 304, 307, Petrie, W.(1922).

(2) P. Lond. 1121 B., A. D. 157, Arsinoe.

(3) P. Berk. P. 45, SB. 10555, after A. D. 282, Oxyrhynchus.

(4) P. O. 1500, A. D. 229.

(5) P. O. 1499, A. D. 309; 1146, 4th cent., Oxyrhynchus.

(6) P. O. 1146, 4th cent., Oxyrhynchus.

(7) P. O. 3300, soon after, A. D. 271 /2; 2798, 304 /5, P. Gen. 24, A. D., 4th cent., Karanis.

(8) P. O. 3649, A.D.4th cent. ; 2128, A. D. 3rd cent., Oxyrhynchus.

(9) P. Giss.50, A. D. 259, Oxyrhynchus.

(10) PCZ. 59745, ll. 54-6.

rate three obols a day⁽¹⁾. While, bath supervisors got their wages at the rate of forty drachma for each 30 days of work. But, at the same document they got their wage in a rate 36 drachma for each 30 day of work⁽²⁾. Further, Apollonios “ a bath supervisor” and his colleagues, got 260 drachma for their wages and chaff costs⁽³⁾. Moreover, two supervisors got a sum of 2,000 2,000 drachma for non mentioned period⁽⁴⁾, no explanation could be provided for the aforementioned examples in lack of enough data.

Bathing Equipments: It is reasonable to expect in the light of the spread of public baths in Egypt that, bath equipments might be well known and mentioned in documents. The primitive equipments of bath-in addition to water, is soap. Which was a mixture of Castor oil and Natron⁽⁵⁾; it is called Bathing castor or “Βαλανει κικι”⁽⁶⁾. During one of Apollonios’ visits to his his estate, Eubolos, the bath servant, got mounts of castor oil “for the bath”⁽⁷⁾. It is noteworthy that, a similar or perhaps the same formula, used to to wash sheep wool in preparing for fulling process⁽⁸⁾.

Towels, are repeatedly mentioned, the meaning of the word “Βαλαναριον”, through the context of most documents was “Towels”⁽⁹⁾.

(1) P. O. 1500, A. D. 229, Oxyrhynchus.

(2) P. Lond. 1177, A.D.113, Arsinoe.

(3) P. Lond. 1121B, A. D. 157, Arsinoe.

(4) P. O. 2128, A. D. 3rd cent., Oxyrhynchus.

(5) Cf. P. Teb. 703, l.102, PCZ. 59304; 59703; 59704, 59705; 59706, P. Enteux. 82= Sel. Pap. 269, Sandy, D. B., (1989), P. 53.

(6) PSI. 349, P. Lille. 58iii 18.

(7) P. Corn.1, ll. 23, 143, Westermann, W. L., (1924), P. 241, Rostovtzeff, M., (1941), P. 310.

(8) PCZ. 59430, l. 15, PSI. 429, ll. 13-6, P. Lond. 2012, ll. 10-2, P. Teb. 703, l. 102, Thompson, D., (1988), P. 52.

(9) P. Amh. 126, A. D. 128, Hermopolis, cf., Schwartz. J., (1961), PP. 140-5, P.O.1026, A. A. D. 5th cent.; 1021, 3rd cent.; 921, 3rd cent.; 1741, early 4th cent.; 2006, A. D. 513, Oxyrhynchus.

Still, the meaning through a context of at least one papyrus is close to be considered as , “ a bag that a person takes to the public bath containing his bathing necessities, or “a bath kit”⁽¹⁾. In some documents towels were called: Egyptian towels. This means the existence of different kinds of towels. Besides, there were “bathing-apron”, this sort of bathing utilities mentioned once in a document, where Hierocles ask Zenon to offer it – among other equipments, to Pyrrhus, who was mentioned some where else as a champion who trained under Apollonios’ sponsorship⁽²⁾. Surprisingly when know that; the apron was made of, goatskin which seems according to the document much better than that one made of sheepskin⁽³⁾. It is very reasonable to assume that, this apron was demanded for “Turkish/ or Vapour Bath”, that sportsmen might need it to reduce some of their weight. Face cloth is also mentioned among bath equipments. This might means a face cloth, used regularly at home, other than related to bath equipments. Bath slippers’ were known as a principal equipment for bathing⁽⁴⁾.

Public lockers were located in public baths, presumably to keep bathers’ stuff during bathing⁽⁵⁾. It is useful to mention that these lockers were guarded by guards who got a salary as locker guards. The existence of these lockers might answer back to an old question about Zenon who was very fond of bathing⁽⁶⁾. The question is: why Zenon has not any of bath equipments in his cupboard at home? Because, A tall list contains Zenon’s clothes, did not mention any of bathing necessities⁽⁷⁾. However, it might be

(1) P. O. 903, A. D. 4th /5th cent., Antoninopolis/ Oxyrhynchus.

(2) P. Lond. 1941, before 4 May 257 B. C, Philadelphia.

(3) PCZ. 59060 = Sel. Pap. 88, 257, B. C., Philadelphia.

(4) P. O. 2599, A. D. 3rd /4th cent., Oxyrhynchus C., Philadelphia.

(4) P. O. 2599, A. D. 3rd /4th cent., Oxyrhynchus.

(5) P. Giss. 50, A. D. 259, Oxyrhynchus, cf. Johnson, A.C., (1959), P. 478.

(6) Cf. PCZ. 59702; 59703; 59704; 59706, Rosovtzeff, M. (1922), P. 184.

(7) Cf. PCZ. 59092 = Sel. Pap. 182, 257 B. C., Philadelphia.

concluded that he kept his “bathing-kit”, in one of his favorite baths that was located at Philadelphia, since he got the right to have free baths in any of them⁽¹⁾.

Zenon in return, answered about another reasonable question. What person might take with him to the public bath inside or besides, his bathing kit apart from, clean clothes, soap, bathing-apron or towel, and slipper? During his Nile-journey to upper Egypt, Zenon used to go to the public bath every time he landed. He himself and his companions took every time with them, “cabbage, radish, wine, cocked pigeons, wheat! bread, besides castor oil for bathing and presumably for lightning and timbers for warming up water. However, at the end they made a calculation for these expenses, either to divide it among them, or to offer it to Apollonios asking for refund⁽²⁾.

A similar picture is offered by Plutarch about the death of Cleopatra, “so Cleopatra mourned Antony, and she crowned his Urn with a garland and kissed it. Then she ordered a bath to be made ready, and, when she had come from the bath, she lay down and was served with an exquisite meal⁽³⁾. meal⁽³⁾. Zenon fairly enjoyed a meal in a part of the bath prepared for this purpose -as it might have been at Caracalla’s baths for instance⁽⁴⁾.

Bath Customers: In the light of the official policy of spreading Hellenism and Romanisation, it is reasonable to assume that; bathers were members at every social class. Kings, such as Cleopatra, were very fond of bathing⁽⁵⁾, Apollonios the dioicetes⁽⁶⁾, his agent Zenon who even his carrier after

(1) PCZ. 59667, undated, Philadelphia.

(2) Cf.PCZ.59702;59703; 59704; 59705; 59706.

(3) Plutarch, Life of Marcus Antonius, 85.

(4) Freeman, C., (1996), P. 445.

(5) Plutarch, Life of Marcus Antonius, 85.

(6) P. Corn.1, ll. 23, 143, Philadelphia, Westermann, W., (1924), P. 241.

Apollonios ended as a bath builder⁽¹⁾. While, several others were eager to enjoy this sort of pleasant⁽²⁾. During the Roman era, Roman authority was content to encourage baths as a phenomena of Romanisation. Municipal magistrates were the ideal example for executing applying this policy. At any rate, the huge amounts of sums spent for bath operating, might reflect this fact clearly⁽³⁾.

The petition submitted by Isidora, illustrate the popularity of public baths, since she claimed that; water failing caused her a financial loss⁽⁴⁾. Still, the repeated petitions contained incapacity of paying public bath rents, might reflect either, personal mismanagement by bath operators, or variation in Hellenic spirits in Egypt's districts⁽⁵⁾. One fact might be considered is that that the native Egyptians were after all unwilling to use these public baths. Firstly because of the common coyness of the Egyptians to appear naked in public, even in front of the same gender. Secondly, the high fee of public baths, which exceeded the ability of most of the native Egyptians⁽⁶⁾. Still, Ancient Egyptians were eager and able to manage their personal hygiene through their commonly, known ancient ways.

(1) PCZ. 59702-6, undated.

(2) P. Ent.82 = Sel. Pap. 269, 221 B. C., Trikomia, Arsinoe, cf. Bagnall, R. S., (1970), PP. 195-6, PCZ. 59060, 257 B. C., Philadelphia; 59702-6, undated.

(3) P. Lond. 1177 = W. Chr. 193, A. D. 113, Arsinoe, P. O. 54, A. D. 201; 754, A. D. 201; 896 = Sel. Pap. 360, A. D. 316; 2127, A. D. 2nd cent.; 473, A. D. 138-60; 1450, A. D. 249-50, ; 3185, A. D. 3rd cent.; 2128, A. D. 3rd cent.; 53, A. D. 316; 3265, A. D. 326; 892, A. D. 338. Oxyrhynchus, P. Lond. 1166, A. D. 15, CPH. 67, A. D. 266, CPH. 82, A. D. 266, P. Amh. 70 = W. Chr. 149, A. D. 114-7, Hermopolis, P. Ryl. 124, A. D. 1st cent., Arsinoe, P. O. 903, A. D. 4/5th cent., Antoninopolis, Rawlandson, J., (1998), PP. 207-8, 361, Abott, F. F., Johnson, A. C. (1926), PP. 541-2.

(4) P. Lond. VII, 2036, undated, maybe Philadelphus reign, Philadelphia.

(5) PCZ. 59453, presumably Philadelphus reign, P. Col. Zen. 103, PSI., 584, undated, Philadelphia.

(6) PCZ. 56-9702-6, undated.

As previously stated, visiting baths was a common interest, either when felt the need of enjoying bathing or during specific religious and social occasions⁽¹⁾. Zenon for example, accompanied with his colleagues had gone to baths several times. They took with them; wine, radish, bread, pigeons, and oil” presumably for massage or bathing”. According to what is well known about public baths structure, the place called prostates, - presumably a hall in front of Faconicum room. This place was, where Zenon and his colleagues enjoy themselves partaking a meal after a pleasant bath⁽²⁾. As for the bath Apron wanted from Zenon for Pyrrhus’ training, this demand left no other reasonable possibility but that this apron was to be used by Pyrrhus to reduce weight when needed, according to the known Greek customs for massage and for reducing weight⁽³⁾.

Incidents and Accidents at Public Baths. In spite of, the good faith of Philista, when she went to the public bath, she got a scalded because of the carelessness of a bath man, who emptied a jug of hot water on her belly and her left thigh down to the knee⁴. Philista was not the only person who felt disappointed when she went to public bath for the well-known purpose. Aplonos and her mother Theremis, for example have been attacked and received many blows, besides, they lost their jewels⁵. Moreover, a woman called Aurelia, complaint of her husband who attacked her and took a bath bag containing her bath stuff, as a security of a debt or something likewise⁶.

(1) Lindsay, J., (1965), PP. 100-7, 236-7, 340-1.

(2) PCZ. 59665, comment, PSI. 936, l. 9, ص ٣١٧، ج ٤، (١٩٨٨) نصحي

(3) PCZ. 59060 = Sel. Pap. 88, 257 B. C., Philadelphia.

(4) P. Ent.82=Sel.Pap.269, 221B.C., Trikomia, Arsinoe, cf. Bagnall, R. S., (1970), PP 195-6, Rawlandson, J., (1998), P. 173, Bowman, A. K., (1986), P. 144.

(5) P. Ryl. 124, A. D. 1st cent., Euhemeria, Arsinoe, Rawlandson, J., (1998), P. 322.

(6) P. O. 903, A. D. 4/5th cent., Oxyrhynchus.

Magic also found its way several times to baths, where they were a common place for a special kind of magic that attracted Lesbians and homosexuals to each others⁽¹⁾. One of them was a spell dedicated to rouse a corpse to persecute the loved one. The corpse -Demon was to take the form of a woman bath-attendant, and set up love fire in heart, liver, and soul, of a woman mentioned in the document. However, the purpose of the spell was unique, since the fire of love was supposed not to be directed to another man, but to another woman⁽²⁾. The other example for love inside bath might come from Serinus who has very highly sentimental feelings towards his wife Isidora, who deserted him, to someone else. So that, he expressed to her, his love-sickness, and he mentioned the last bath that they attended together. The last accident seems to have occurred at a bathhouse, rather than a public bath, since separation between genders was the base in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt.

Philista, who was scalded by a bath-attendant in women's rotunda⁽³⁾, and the above-mentioned women's bath at Oxyrhynchus⁽⁴⁾, shows that women got either a separate rotunda, which was called usually "Tholos"⁽⁵⁾, or independent baths. As opposed that, Isidora and Heras, who managed baths by themselves. But, the question is, did they have manage bath for both genders, this presumption might raise the question: how did they manage their work during men's bathing time. Reasonably it might be assumed that they either hired a male to assist them, or they kept these baths for women only. The case of women's bath at Oxyrhynchus might support

(¹) P. Colo. XVI.1, Suppl. Mag., Vol. 1, PSI. 28, PGMXXXII (Lesbian); XXXIIa, possibly homosexuals; XXXVI; LXVI, cf. also, P. Oslo. I 1, 334.

(²) UPZ. 11, A. D. 3/4th. Hermopolis.

(³) P. Ent. 82 = Sel. Pap. 269, 220 B. C., Trikomia, Arsinoe, Bagnall, R. S., (1970), P. 195-6, Rawlandson, J., (1998), P. 172.

(⁴) P. Brem. 23, Oxyrhynchus.

(⁵) For more details cf. Meyer, B., (1992), 51-60, Schwartz, J., & Wild, M., (1950), P. 60.

this possibility⁽¹⁾. Nevertheless, the petition concerning a woman and her mother being attacked and robbed by two women and two men, while they were bathing, probably means, that bath got no sufficient security. After all, this sort of crimes do not appear common in Egypt in this era⁽²⁾.

Accordingly, men's work at women's bath rotunda was known, but it might be considered a special sort of discrimination towards slaves. Who were not considered as human beings⁽³⁾. However, the instance of man's work in public baths serving women, was hypothetically the exception not the rule⁽⁴⁾. It is intuitive to mention that bathing of the same gender was very natural⁽⁵⁾. Still; the common Roman customs might refuse reciprocal bathing, or using women's bath⁽⁶⁾. Furthermore, there were another sort of bath classification according to wealth. This classification, appears clearly in the known two baths at Karanis. Where one of them was larger and well built, and presumably was visited by the rich. While, the other was poorer and not so much equipped, where, the poor could enjoy a pleasant time⁽⁷⁾.

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